5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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interesting suppleness under the most diverse conditions according to the state of civilisation or submission—or lack of submission—of the natives'.

As a reaction against the powers of the Senegalese General Council during the regrouping of the French West African territories the Protectorate, with the exception of Casamance, Thiès, Cayor and Tivaouane and the *cercles* of the Fleuve, was detached from the colony of Senegal so that the General Council could not legitimately interfere in its affairs. However two years later economic and administrative exigencies decreed the reshaping of Senegal and the rest of French Africa into the territorial boundaries that exist today.

The first major attempt to undermine the rights of the Senegalese with the rights of citizens by virtue of being born in one of the four communes, known as *originaires*, came in 1908 when the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal asked that 1,563 names be struck off the electoral role of Dakar arguing that since the natives concerned were only French subjects they could not vote. Only French citizens could vote, and citizenship could be obtained only by individual naturalisation. This was upheld in the local court but rejected by the *Cour de Cassation* in Paris. However, the Court confirmed that these voters were not French citizens though they maintained that they had the right to vote. This failure to recognise their status as citizens evoked much ill-feeling among the *originaires*. In 1910 the voting rights in the Senegal were in fact extended when it was provided that French citizens living outside the communes but within the colony could vote. But the Minister of Colonies declared that the decree did not apply to 'non-naturalised natives who only enjoy the franchise in the four *communes de pleine exercice* on condition of being born there', and thus once again emphasised the fact that the French Government did not consider the *originaires* as true citizens. Indeed in the following year their position was further aggravated when *originaires* doing their military service in metropolitan units

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641 633 [701] of the army in West Africa, and serving on the same basis as European citizens, were suddenly discharged without reason. A commission of the General Council asked that in future all voters, without distinction of colour, be called on to perform their obligatory military service. Thus by 1912 one had the odd spectacle of Africans, far from trying to avoid military service, insisting on their right to perform it on the grounds that only thus could they secure their rights as French citizens.

However French intransigence over the question of the *originaires* was made clear in the Naturalisation Decree of 1912, which stated that only French subjects born in West Africa could acquire French citizenship. The conditions for acquisition of citizenship were: having proved devotion to France or having occupied with merit for at least ten years a position in a French office, public or private; having learned to read or write French; having given evidence of possessing a means of existence and good character. As a result between 1914-22 only ninety-four natives in French West Africa were naturalised. Those who were defined as subject to the jurisdiction of the native, instead of the French, tribunals were all those natives 'who had not had in their country of origin the status of European national'. This was interpreted by the *originaires* as an attempt to remove from them their right to appear before French tribunals and subject them to administrative justice like the sujets of the Protectorate, for whilst they were anxious to retain their right to their *statut personnel* in civil matters such as marriage and inheritance, they wanted to be tried in French courts in criminal cases. This evoked furious criticisms by the *originaires* and Maître Lamine Guèye, himself an *originaire* and later Deputy in the French Assembly, wrote 'Our fears were more than justified by the spectacle of what happened in the interior of the Colony, where administrators, reviving in certain respects feudal practices, imposed on the persons of our compatriots of the protectorate acts which were neither human nor French'.

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Such was the outcry against this decree that a further decree in 1914 confirmed that 'all natives born in the four communes would be subject to French tribunals throughout the colony and in certain other places'. Indeed Lamine Guèye was one of the most ardent critics of France for her failure to accord the full rights of an assimilationist policy to the *originaires*. He protested against the way the Government opposed 'the entrance of all natives of whatever status they may be, into the general administrative services, even into military units stationed in the colony'. It was only by insistence on the right to do military service on equal terms with the French that the *originaires* were finally able to gain confirmation of their rights as citizens. In 1914 Blaise Diagne became the first Senegalese to sit in the Chamber of Deputies. He won his seat partly as a result of the split vote amongst his six European opponents, partly because he appealed to the Senegalese voters by his demands for complete equality between black and white. His particular platform was a pledge to vote for a law for obligatory military service without distinction of race or colour. In a letter to the Minister of Colonies he said the *originaires* did not want the privileges without the obligations of French citizenship. At the time, of course, France was just about to enter into the Great War and badly needed troops from Africa. Thus without much difficulty a law was passed providing for the conscription of the *originaires* as French troops. In return for Diagne's co-operation in recruiting troops for the war effort, the Government passed the Citizenship Law of 1916 which once and for all confirmed the status of the *originaires*. They could retain their *statut personnel* and need not understand French to be considered as citizens. 'The natives of the *communes de pleine exercice* and their descendants are and remain French citizens subject to the military obligations of the Law of 19 October 1915.' The rider about the status of 'descendants' was of particular importance to Lamine Guèye who was born in Soudan of *originaire* parents.

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leaders had to work so ardently and patiently many decades later. Where it has often seemed to be the policy of European powers to divide and rule, here the French positively encouraged the creation of a Senegalese identity. Faidherbe created the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, whereas Lugard called his force the Hausa Constabulary. For many years, Senegal has had a romantic and sentimental place in the eyes of the French, and the *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, who in fact enjoyed the services of recruits from all over West Africa, are known by most Frenchmen for their services to France in both world wars. This concept of national as distinct from tribal identity in the *Quatre Communes* also influenced the educated élite from the Protectorate who were determined to participate in the privileges of the *originaires*.

A policy of assimilation that has the aim of eradicating the African past and the creation of 'black Frenchmen', when applied thoroughly, did in fact help to eliminate tribal differences and create a new common culture. In particular, education, which grouped children of different ethnic groups side by side, made no concession to local circumstances. They were taught about 'our ancestors the Gauls' and in the best schools standards were the same as those in France. Instruction was in French from the very first years, and the school uniform was in European style. They were thus given a common meeting ground from the earliest age, with almost no concessions made to their own ethnic differences. Large numbers of Senegalese have been to France for their education ever since the days of Faidherbe, and in France they found themselves automatically dubbed as Senegalese, for few Frenchmen had time for the niceties of tribal distinctions.

It is not surprising, then, that particularly among young men many friendships were made outside the tribe. Indeed today in Dakar it would be rare to find a young man with primary education who could not count many friends from outside his own ethnic group. Marriage presented different problems. For if the young man had overcome sensitivities

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

From 1836 onwards treaties were made with the chiefs of the Casamance basin, and posts were constructed at Sedhiou, Karaban, and Diembering. These treaties respected Portuguese historic but obsolete rights at Ziguinchor, but effectively guaranteed that the future of the river should be French.

The abolition of the status of slavery by France in 1848 deprived the French merchants of a cheap supply of labour, which they had rented from the chiefs, and in 1850 a committee was appointed to consider withdrawal from the colony or, as an alternative, the establishment of French authority. It decided in favour of the latter, and the policy of trade treaties came to an end.

The new French policy, to which Napoleon III was pledged, was summed up as 'absolute freedom of commerce with the suppression of the escales; establishment of security, by force if necessary; the substitution of full and entire authority for the system of treaties and subsidies; methodical organization of expansion towards the interior; and concurrently the development of economic institutions'.

'*By Force if Necessary*'

Faidherbe. It was to carry out this policy that Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in December 1854. He had already had much experience as a soldier and administrator in the colony, and, with a break of eighteen months, he held office till July 1865. His period of office marked a turning-point in the history of Senegal, and he is justly remembered as one of the builders of the modern French Colonial Empire. At first his resources were pitifully small. He had four companies of marine infantry, a company of native infantry formed on the liberation of the slaves in 1848, sixty spahis, and some detachments of artillery and engineers. His naval strength was on a similar scale. Both were substantially strengthened in the next few years.

The Arabs. Faidherbe decided to deal with the Trarza Arabs. Notwithstanding the treaty of 1835, they had continued their marauding expeditions across the river, and had re-established a supreme influence over the Ouolofs of Oualo. Early in 1855 the Trarza chief Mohammed el Abib insolently demanded the French evacuation of certain islands near the mouth of the Senegal. Faidherbe marched against him and defeated him near St. Louis on 15 February. On 25 February the Ouolofs were defeated near Ross. The French captured more than 2,000 cattle and burned 20 villages.